

## Message Text

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DRAFTED BY: IO/UNP-RGLONG

APPROVED BY: IO-DCARDWELL

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 205909

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 3204 ACTION DEPT INFO CAIRO MOSCOW LONDON  
NEW DELHI TEHRAN TEL AVIV AIEA VIENNA GENEVA NATO SEPT 16TH

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 3204

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, PARM, JA

SUBJ: EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH JAPANESE ON DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS

SUMMARY: AT BILATERAL PRE-UNV TALKS SEPT 12 JAPANESE EXPRESSED  
SOME CONCERN ABOUT US DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN STRONG NUCLEAR  
NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY, POINTING TO RECENT US AGREEMENTS WITH  
EGYPT AND ISRAEL. WE EXPLAINED RATIONALE OF THOSE AGREEMENTS AND  
OF THE ASSURANCES WE ARE SEEKING FROM INDIA. OTHER DISARMAMENT  
ISSUES WERE ONLY LIGHTLY TOUCHED. END SUMMARY.

1. DISARMAMENT DISCUSSION AT BILATERALS WITH JAPANESE SEPT 12  
CONCENTRATED ON NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION PROBLEM. OWEN ZURHELLEN,  
DEPUTY DIRECTOR ACDA, TOLD JAPANESE MANY DISARMAMENT ITEMS THIS  
FALL RELATED IN SOME WAY TO NON-PROLIFERATION. INDIAN EXPLOSION  
MAY BE IMPORTANT TURNING POINT IN CONSIDERATION THIS PROBLEM.  
AGREEMENT ON PNE'S CALLED FOR IN ARTICLE III OF TTB WOULD  
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EVENTUALLY HAVE BROAD IMPLICATIONS ON SETTING UP OF INTERNATIONAL

PNE MECHANISM FOR USE IF AND WHEN PNE'S ARE FOUND ECONOMICALLY AND TECHNICALLY FEASIBLE.

2. JAPANESE SAID SOME CONCERN HAD DEVELOPED IN JAPAN AFTER INDIAN EXPLOSION AND SIGNING OF US-EGYPT AND US-ISRAEL NUCLEAR AGREEMENTS THAT US HAD CHANGED ITS NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY. DIRECTOR GENERAL SUZUKI, UN BUREAU JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTRY, SAID THERE WERE TWO SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT IN JAPAN ON THIS AND HE HIMSELF BELONGED TO GROUP WHICH HELD US HAD NOT CHANGED ITS POLICY. HE AWARE US POLICY UNDERGOING INTENSIVE REVIEW. IN ANY CASE JAPANESE WOULD LIKE TO SEE CONTENTS OF THE EGYPT AND ISRAEL AGREEMENTS.

3. ZURHELLEN CAUTIONED AGAINST EXPECTING EARLY CLEAR-CUT CONCLUSIONS FROM US POLICY REVIEW. HE POINTED OUT JAPANESE KNEW THAT WE HAVE ASKED FOR CERTAIN SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS FROM INDIA AS A CONDITION FOR CONTINUING NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH THEM. RE ISRAEL AND EGYPT, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN INCONSISTENT FOR US TO DENY LIMITED COOPERATION WITH THEM (UNDER SAFEGUARDS EVEN MORE STRICT THAN NORMAL IAEA ONES) ON GROUNDS THEY WERE NOT NPT PARTIES WHEN IN FACT WE HAVE COOPERATED LIBERALLY WITH OTHER NON PARTIES OVER PAST FIVE YEARS. INCLUDING JAPAN. FACT IS EGYPT HAS SIGNED NPT AND PLEDGED SUPPORT TO ITS PRINCIPLES; ISRAEL HAS SAID IT HAS NOT RPT NOT DECIDED AGAINST NPT AND FURTHER WILL NOT BE FIRST TO INTRODUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS INTO AREA. OUR COOPERATION WITH NPT NON PARTIES IS NOT VIOLATION OF OUR REGARD FOR NPT PRINCIPLES BUT IS RATHER RECOGNITION THAT TREATY STILL IN EARLY STAGES AND THAT COOPERATION WITH THOSE WHO MAY ADHERE TO IT IS BEST POLICY. IN LONGER RANGE TERMS NPT REMAINS A PRINCIPAL MEANS OF PREVENTING PROLIVERATION AND COOPERATION WITH ITS PARTIES WILL BE AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF US POLICY.

4. SUZUKI SAID THE PRESENT JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE NON-PROLIVERATION QUESTION AND WOULD BE SAYING SOMETHING ABOUT IT IN HIS GENERAL DEBATE SPEECH HERE. ZURHELLEN NOTED THAT JAPANESE RATIFICATION OF THE NPT WOULD BE PARTICULARLY MEANINGFUL TO OTHER COUNTRIES. SUZUKI SAID GOJ WOULD WELCOME CLEAR INDICATION FROM US RE OUR VIEWS OF NPT RATIFICATION BY JAPAN.

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5. JAPANESE ASKED THREE QUESTIONS IN CONCLUDING THE DISCUSSION: (1) DOES US REQUEST TO INDIA FOR ASSURANCES IN CONNECTION WITH ITS EXPLOSION INDICATE US PLANS TO MAKE SAME REQUEST TO OTHER COUNTRIES WITH WHICH US HAS NUCLEAR AGREEMENTS (2) WILL THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE BE OPEN ONLY TO PARTIES? (3) WHAT IS THE US VIEW ON THE SOVIET ENVIRONMENTAL PROPOSAL (ENMOD)?

6. WITH REGARD TO FIRST QUESTION, ZURHELLEN REPLIED THAT NEED FOR NEW ASSURANCE FROM INDIA AROSE BECAUSE OF INDIAN INTERPRETATION OF COOPERATION AGREEMENTS AS PERMITTING "PEACEFUL" EXPLOSION. THERE WAS NO NEED TO SEEK THIS ASSURANCE FROM OTHERS WITH WHOM WE HAVE AGREEMENTS AS LONG AS THEY DO NOT ASSERT THAT THE AGREEMENTS PERMIT EXPLOSIONS, AN INTERPRETATION WHICH WE CANNOT ACCEPT. IN THIS CONNECTION, ZURHELLEN NOTED THAT CHANGE IN TITLE OF IRANIAN PROPOSAL FROM "NUCLEAR FREE ZONE" TO "NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREE ZONE" PRESENTED SIMILAR DIFFICULTIES IF IT MEANS THAT EXPLOSIVES FOR ALLEGEDLY PEACEFUL PURPOSES COULD BE DEVELOPED.

7. WITH REGARD TO PARTICIPATION IN THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE, ZURHELLEN SAID PREPCOM HAD NOT TAKEN FINAL DECISION YET, BUT TO CERTAIN EXTENT HE THOUGHT IT DEPENDED ON HOW MANY NON-PARTIES THERE STILL WERE AT TIME OF CONFERENCE; HOPEFULLY MAJOR SIGNATORIES WILL HAVE RATIFIED BY THEN. IN ANY CASE RESTRICTIONS MIGHT HAVE TO BE TIGHT TO PREVENT COUNTRIES BRINGING THEIR BILATERAL QUARRELS TO CONFERENCE MEANT TO DEAL WITH NPT OPERATIONS.

8. RESPECTING ENMOD, ZURHELLEN SAID WE DO TAKE THE PROPOSAL SERIOUSLY BUT IT IS NOT YET CLEAR WHETHER THE SOVIETS ENVISAGE A STRICTLY MILITARY USES CONVENTION OR A WIDER AGREEMENT ON ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATIONS. US AND USSR AGREED AT JULY MOSCOW SUMMIT TO CONSULT ON QUESTION OF ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATIONS FOR MILITARY PURPOSES BUT CONSULTATION HAS NOT YET TAKEN PLACE AND SOVIET UN PROPOSAL IS UNILATERAL, NOT RESULT OF JOINT US-USSR EFFORT. WE EXPECT TO CONSULT WITH SOVIETS BEFORE GA DISCUSSIONS AND WILL THEN BE IN BETTER POSITION TO DECIDE OUR ATTITUDE ON THEIR PROPOSAL. JAPANESE SAID THAT THEY HAVE REPLIED TO SOVIET APPROACH FOR SUPPORT WITH GENERAL COMMENT THAT OF COURSE ALL ENVIRONMENTAL MATTERS ARE VERY IMPORTANT TO JAPAN.

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## Message Attributes

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